DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 220 832 CS 207 011

AUTHOR Black, Jay
TITLE Professionalization of the Australian News Media: Journalists' Education, Training, and Job Satisfaction.
PUB DATE Jul 82
NOTE 40p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (65th, Athens, OH, July 25-28, 1982).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Apprenticeships; *Employee Attitudes; Foreign Countries; *Journalism; *Journalism Education; Media Research; Professional Education; Professional Occupations; *Professional Training; Questionnaires; *Work Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS *Australia

ABSTRACT

A study of Australian journalists was conducted to test three hypotheses: (1) there is little agreement over the "ideal" means of training or educating journalists, (2) Australian journalism is dominated by white, Anglo-Saxon males who increasingly represent upper-middle class backgrounds, and (3) job satisfaction decreases as formal education increases among journalists. Subjects were 318 journalists, 241 men, and 77 women, who were interviewed at length. Questions probing hypothesis one did reveal a wide variety of views about cadetship versus academic study, while at the same time confirming a trend toward more education for journalists. There is, however, little objective evidence that advancement correlates with educational level. Hypothesis two was strongly supported by both objective and anecdotal evidence. In response to questions based upon hypothesis three, both journalists who had some tertiary education and those who did not appeared contented with thier work situations. However, although the more educated journalists were not disillusioned to any extent or dissatisfied beyond the norm, they were less satisfied than their less educated counterparts. Still, differences were in degree, not direction. (An appendix contains the education questionnaire.) (JL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED220832

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

PROFESSIONALIZATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN NEWS MEDIA: JOURNALISTS' EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND JOB SATISFACTION

By

Jay Black
Utah State University
Logan, Utah

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Jay Black

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Presented to the International Communication Division, Association fo Education in Journalism, annual convention, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, July, 1982.

CS207011

INTRODUCTION

Disagreements over appropriate means of training and educating Australian journalists, of the proper role of the "profession", have continued practically nonstop for at least a century. The past decade, during which at least a dozen college and university departments of journalism have sprung up in a nation which has prided itself on a unique on-the-job cadetship training scheme, has seen an intensified discussion of the nature and desirability of educating "professional" journalists for increasingly important roles in society. Slowly and haltingly, college educated journalists have joined the ranks of working news reporters and editors, giving rise to a new set of questions about the changing face of the information industry in this dynamic, energy-rich and politically important South Pacific island continent.

So far, discussions of journalistic professionalization have been based largely on conjecture. Contradictory claims by budding journalism departments (who insist their graduates are rapidly integrating and shortly will be upgrading the news business) and entrenched cadetship programs (who still insist that the only way to train journalists is to capture bright and malleable 17-year-olds and cram them with shorthand, typing and practical reporting skills for several years) are far from conclusive. A first effort to systematically resolve the debat was undertaken in late 1981, when a generous research grant from the Adelaide, South Australia media group, The Advertiser Newspapers, permitted on-site, in-depth interviews with 318 Australian journalists. Newspaper, radio, television, wire service, news magazine and free lance news journalists in 19 different cities in all six Australian states plus the Australian Capital Territory (Canberra) subjected themselves to a lengthy face-to-face interview schedule that probed their vocational, academic and socio-economic backgrounds, present levels of job satisfaction, expectations of mobility and advancement either within journalism or into other fields, and general attitudes toward what increasing numbers

of Australian social commentators are describing as the growing profession of journalism. The present paper is an overview of some of the findings from these interviews, constituting an abbreviated and preliminary version of a book-length report to be published in Australia later this year.

HYPOTHESES

Background readings and preliminary interviews with journalism educators, editors, working journalists and cadets gave rise to numerous research questions, some of which were pursued in the present report. The complexity of the questionnaire, and the broad scope of open-ended questions and subsequent narrative responses, generated far more data than can be even summarized herein. However, the questions addressed in the subsequent pages revolve around issues of interest to American journalism educators: education and training, socio-economic backgrounds, job satisfaction and professionalization of journalists. Three specific hypotheses are tested:

1. Because of management and staff contention over whether journalism is an art, craft, business, or profession, there is little agreement over the "ideal" means of training or educating journalists.

2. Australian journalism is dominated by white, Anglo-Saxon males who increasingly represent upper-middle class backgrounds.

3. Job satisfaction decreases as formal education increases among journalists.

METHODOLOGY

Due to time constraints and the absence of a master list of Australian media personnel, the researchers sampled heavily in each capital city and Canberra, where the overwhelming majority of Australian journalists are employed, and less heavily in provincial towns. All metropolitan newspapers, television and radio stations, and the Australian Associated Press were contacted; almost all cooperated with the study. To a lesser extent, freelance and magazine

journalists were individually surveyed. At each site one or more senior executives were interviewed and granted permission to question staffers. Using an approved sampling technique known as the "snowballing method,"[1] researchers first interviewed the top executives, then second level management personnel, then the reporters and sub-editors (copy editors) recommended by them. In addition, interviews were conducted with other journalists recommended by each previous wave of interviewees, until the full range of gradings, educational and training backgrounds, sex, and opinions on issues at hand were represented. While it is not maintained that the sample is statistically representative of all Australian journalists, the researchers have no doubt that on the substantive questions involved, the prevailing attitudes have been uncovered.

Interviews ranged from 15 minutes to 2½ hours, depending upon the amount of time available during the working day of the interviewees and the interviewees' interest in the subject. (Given that little or no such research had been undertaken previously in Australia, journalists tended to be intrigued and cooperative in expressing their opinions.) The questionnaire (included as Appendix A) was straight forward and above board. Rapport was established, and candid answers received. Absolute anonymity was promised to individuals and specific media.

Of the 318 journalists interviewed, 241 were males and 77 females. Due to the "snowballing" sampling technique, a larger proportion of management and senior graded journalists were interviewed than might have been expected by pure random chance. Where relevant, answers of management and non-management are looked at separately.

---

[1] Kenneth D. Bailey, Methods of Social Research (New York: The Free Press, 1978).

More than half, or 58.5%, of those sampled worked on newspapers; 1.9% of the total were on suburban papers, 11.6% on regional/provincial papers, and 45% on metropolitan dailies. The governmentally-owned Australian Broadcast Commission (ABC), whose reporters do both radio and television journalism, accounted for 8.5% of the sample, commercial radio another 8.5%, television 21%, and agencies and magazines or freelancers the remaining 3.5%.

Questionnaires were coded by senior-level students in a Journalism Research course at the Hartley College of Advanced Education (now known as South Australia College of Advanced Education), who also used the College's computational services for statistical analysis (SPSS).[2]

FINDINGS: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Since the mid-1300s, a scant half-century after its first Anglo-Saxon settlements were founded, Australia's journalists have come under fire for their casual and sometimes anti-intellectual attitudes toward their own craft. An 1851 essay in The Illustrated Australian Magazine faulted Melbourne journalism for being supercilious, suggesting that it:

> ...would not be too high lecturing us, as from a judgement seat, on the questions of Jurisprudence, Politics, Polemics, Literature, and Art; there is scarcely a topic or interest which affects our social and moral condition, upon which its conductors do not assume to be our guides and dictators. Is it presumption then, to ask for the credentials of our judges, before we submit to their decision?...Before we yield to dominion so comprehensive should we not be assured that our governors are legitimate--legitimate by virtue of the clear intellect--the cultivated mind--the upright soul--legitimate through the fear of God, as well as the love of man--by the light of genius, and the best of truth--aye, legitimate in virtue of these and of no thing else? Yes, of this, we must be assured--that the oracle is divine before we ask its guidance or hearken to its teaching. Who, then, are the priests of that before which we are invited to bow; and what mysteries of knowledge, wisdom,

---

[2] Although the study was designed and interviews conducted by faculty members, student involvement in data processing and analysis permitted both a unique teaching opportunity and enhanced media-college relations. The "final exam" for the research course took the form of a three-hour oral presentation by students and faculty to management of the newspaper funding the study and other interested journalists. Much of the data reported herein were generated by students; the final report, in book form, is being written by students and edited by faculty.

or virtue has it revealed to us, that we should acknowledge its supremacy, and worship at its shrine? 3

In fairness to the city of Melbourne, it should be noted that other cities' newspapers came under similar attack. The Sydney press in particular was the target of The Critic's manifesto when the magazine first appeared in 1873. In a front page article titled "Ourselves," The Critic complained that:

> A very large proportion of the educated classes of the city incline to the opinion that the local press, from a literary view, is scarcely creditable to so wealthy and intelligent a community...The proprietors of the leading journals have their prejudices, and, as men of business, prefer respectable mediocrity to erratic talent...As a rule the so-called leading articles of the Sydney press are feeble, puerile, and incomprehensible...It is true the authors of these lucubrations are RESPECTABLE, but respectability is not talent; neither does it include a knowledge of, or the ability to write, the Queen's English. 4

Three months later, The Critic once again devoted its leading article to the "Fourth Estate," writing, in part, that:

> It is...more than probable that in no community speaking the English tongue is the pressman per se held in so slight estimation, or his work so little regarded, as in this colony. 5

The Critic said that the fault for this unfortunate situation did not lie with the public, who supported the numerous newspapers in existence in Sydney and throughout Australia. Rather, it said, the fault lay:

> ...with certain ignorant and prejudiced employers of literary labour, and primarily with the aggreived persons themselves. Those whose lot it is to earn their bread as journalists are themselves to blame for nearly all the ills that accrue to them. They compose the only body of workmen whose toil is rated at the master's estimate, for of them the supply is always in excess of the demand, for does not every educated man imagine himself capable of even better literary work than ordinary journalism, and are not the ranks of our army continually being recruited from among those whose failures in other pursuits have compelled them to this last resort to make their living? The professional litterateur, bearing this in mind, should strive by every means in his power to prove, to his

---

[3] Anon., "The Colonial Newspaper Press." The Illustrated Australian Magazine January-June, 1851.

[4] Anon., "Ourselves," The Critic, September 20, 1873.

[5] Anon., "The Fourth Estate," The Critic, December 6, 1873.

employers and the public, that it is to their special advantage to retain the services of trained journalists, in preference to those of persons who fly to the pursuit of letters as a dernier resort, when other means of earning their livelihood have failed them. 6

Trained journalists were still in short supply for some years to come. Educated journalists were even more rare, if one is to believe an anonymous country editor writing a century ago this September. After pointing out that journalism alone was the only profession "entrance into the ranks of which is denied to none," the editor noted that the power of the press was in many ways superior to that of the professions of medicine, ministry, and law. The author said there is:

> ...clearly necessity to raise the status of those engaged in journalism, to secure a higher standard of education, a greater sense of responsibility, and a finer sense of honour amongst the literary corps throughout Australia. How is this to be accomplished? One step--and only a step--towards securing a higher class of newspaper writers is unquestionably to make the training of those who intend to enter upon the profession of writing for newspapers a distinct business, as distinct as the training of the doctor, the lawyer, or the clergyman. Why should the editor, daily preaching to thousands upon subjects of burning and vital import to their businesses and bosoms, be worse prepared for his task of duty than the clergyman whose "one sermon a week" reaches only a few hundred? Or why, being so prepared by education, should his remuneration fall immeasurably short of the pay of the doctor or the lawyer? These questions journalists would do well to consider. If the profession of newspaper writing is to gain in dignity and be kept free from the influence of ignorance and vulgarity, and if it is to be better paid and appreciated, it must be elevated in the future by the great majority of those walking in its paths receiving a liberal and undoubtedly a special education. Such an education might be furnished by the establishment of a School of Journalism, or a Chair of Journalism, in connection with the University, and the conferment of certificates of competency for the various positions upon the literary staff of a newspaper. It is unnecessary to specify the subjects a student would require to be instructed in to perform fitly and justly all the duties of newspaper work. This paper is merely suggestive--ordinary judgement will show the reader wherein consist the salient points of a well-conducted newspaper, and wherein, in order to answer its aims, it should be well-informed.
>
> In conclusion I may remark that to train up a race of journalists impressed with the responsibility of the profession they embraced, and

---

6 Ibid.

> competent to discharge the function they would be required to perform, is a desideratum not to be esteemed lightly at a time when ignorance... and peurility disfigure the columns of a large section of the newspaper press. Victoria is doing much to advance education, but there is yet left the duty of educating the educator. 7

Vocational forces won out over educational forces and the Australian journalist throughout most of the twentieth century has been trained in an on-the-job cadetship established by the Australian Journalists Association (the national union to which nearly all practicing journalists belong) and management of individual papers and broadcast outlets. Sporadic efforts to award university certificates for the study of journalism were noteworthy in their singular lack of success; the University of Queensland and University of Melbourne journalism programs averaged no more than two graduates a year until the 1970s. Meanwhile, wave after wave of high school graduates were receiving their shorthand, typing, and reporting skills at the hands of senior journalists during mandatory cadetships that lasted anywhere from six months (for those rare few who had already earneduniversity degrees in liberal arts or a specialized, non-journalism area) to four years. Following a successful cadetship, young journalists received (and still do receive) their gradings, beginning with a D grade and progressing through C, B, and A, respectively.

In 1950 visiting American journalist Franklin C. Bonner described the cadetship system of which Australian news media were so proud:

> The system at best tends to develop technicians and not thinkers... the cadet becomes the practical news man with little understanding of the significance behind the stories he writes, and he is apparently unsure of his own ability to interpret the complicated subjects of an increasingly complicated world. 8

---

[7] Anon., "Education of an Australian Journalist," The Victorian Review, September 1, 1882.

[8] Franklin C. Bonner, A Study of the Australian Press (State College, Pa.: Pennsylvania State College, 1950), p. 13.

For decades the cadetship system with its self-propagating pragmatism effectively neutralized calls for journalists to gain tertiary educations. Young cadets found their newspaper obligations dominating their working days. They were encouraged by the system to ignore tertiary education for fear that a career as a journalist would be jeapordized if they delayed entrance until completion of a degree. Bright cadets rightly sensed where management placed its priorities: on job performance, which was highly unrelated to traditional academic pursuits. Despite their lip service to higher education, few in management could see how it might be installed without wrecking the cadet system. W. Sprague Holden maintained in 1961 that an awareness of the history, theory and practice of government; of sociology and psychology; labor and economics; science and geography, should be an integral part of every newspaper journalist's background. Instead, what Holden found was a passion for learning "shorthand, for typing, for covering a round completely," but little for these other matters. In his short but penetrating conclusion to a discussion of journalism education, Holden summarized the entire question of any polarity between the theoretical and practical training of Australian journalists by saying that "Shorthand is not more important than survival."[9]

The official view of the Australian Journalists Association (AJA) was to support a cadetship system that had staffed the nation's media with competent technicians, and at the same time to encourage young cadets to gain a higher education however and whenever possible--so long as it did not interfere with the daily deadlines. AJA officials negotiated with management for special recognition and speedy grading for youngsters who managed to achieve a

---

[9]W. Sprague Holden, Australia Goes to Press (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961), p. 195.

tertiary degree. More than one observer pointed out that the support was but lip service, an attempt to increase the professional status of journalism (and, obviously, to create justifiable claims for higher wages) without any real effort on the union's part, and without consciousness of the increasing complexity of the socio-economic-political system journalism was expected to report.

Leading Australian political sociologist Henry Mayer wrote in 1964 that journalism was becoming increasingly difficult, and that the journalist was expected to be able to explain any complicated subject briefly and lucidly. Intellectuals, Mayer said, were becoming increasingly worried about the problems of two cultures--the common journalists and the intelligent laymen--and, unless there were to be a sharp improvement in the training and status of journalists, and unless that training included a good deal of science, their attempts to communicate new developments would become increasingly inadequate.[10] As though to support Mayer's view, authors of the AJA journalism textbook The Journalist's Craft suggested that future journalists would do well to go on to the university. However, the text warned:

> ...until we have, in Australia, schools of journalism comparable with those at Columbia, Northwestern, the University of Minnesota and other top American faculties, one would prefer the student to choose almost any course other than journalism--even when a degree or diploma in journalism is available. 11

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw major changes in Australian society, not the least of which was a new governmental policy encouraging establishment of colleges of advanced education where such practical professional areas as

---

[10] Henry Mayer, The Press in Australia (Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1964), p. 207.

[11] Colin Roderick and Lindsay Revill, eds., The Journalist's Craft (Melbourne: Angus & Robertson, 1965), p. 30.

journalism would be offered. Within the past decade each state has seen new departments or divisions of journalism offering a balance of practical and theoretical courses. In a nation where traditionally only about ten per cent of high school graduates continue with tertiary studies, this recent move has necessitated new ways of thinking about the appropriate means of supplying tomorrow's news media with educated and skilled personnel. The Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs), technical institutes and at least one university tend to select only those students who score well on matriculation exams and perform well on individualized screening tests; current events, writing, general knowledge and other skills are typically tested, and personal interviews with faculty conducted before admission is approved. Hartley CAE in South Australia, for instance, accepted only 45 of the 760 candidates in 1981; those accepted were equally divided among fresh high school graduates, university graduates who had studied liberal arts or sciences, and mature age (over 25) students who were changing or upgrading their career skills.

Most of the journalism degree programs graduate only enough students to fill expected vacancies within the city or state where the schools are located. Faculty are typically recruited from the ranks of experienced metropolitan journalists. Ties with regional media are stressed, to the extent that at least one institute, in Melbourne, has had an advisory board consisting of local media personnel approve the curriculum, help purchase equipment, devise a cooperative work-study program for cadets, and provide guest lectures on a regular basis.

Nevertheless, acceptance of the programs and their graduates has been uneven. No metropolitan media have enacted a policy to recruit strictly from the journalism schools. Entrenched senior and executive level journalists have been critical of j-school graduates' lack of practical experience and dedication to shorthand, spelling, and deadlines. Union executives have been reluctant to call for curtailment of the cadetship program with its combination of quality

control and cheap labor (graduates, it should be noted, must be paid at the level of final year cadets). Green eye shade-chi square confrontations are as common today in Australian circles as they were in the US in the late 1960s; senior journalists and cadets, unaware of j-school curricula and intentions, criticise what they perceive to be an overly theoretical education for journalists.

The present study was undertaken largely to "reality test" the impressions reflected in the above paragraph.

HYPOTHESIS ONE: Disagreement over training/education techniques

From the foregoing discussion, it should be apparent that historically there has been little agreement over the "ideal" means of training or educating personnel for the art/craft/business/profession of journalism. Central to the present interviews was a probe of this very question.

Despite the formal and universal cadetship system, which has been in effect for over 50 years, not all journalists surveyed began as cadets, and many who did begin as cadets did not recommend the system for tomorrow's journalists. Moreover, there is no common structure to the present cadet courses and very little consensus--either at management or staff level--on what is lacking in them.

Few occupations exhibit the diversity of academic backgrounds seen in Australian journalism; there is indeed a wide disparity between the 4.4% of the sample who began careers straight from primary school and the 3.7% who have post-graduate degrees or at least two tertiary degrees. Contrary to the general impressions held not only by the public but also by some media executives, an ever-increasing number of journalists are pursuing higher education degrees, many while holding down a full-time job. Overall, some 85% of today's 20-25-year-old journalists have been exposed to university or other tertiary courses, typically in journalism, humanities, and the social sciences.

Nearly half (49%) of the people in that age group were studying journalism at a local university or technical institute or CAE while working full-time. Nevertheless, the youngest journalists interviewed, the cadets, tended to recommend "on the job training" rather than academic training as the necessary prerequisite to advancement in the profession. In addition, older journalists were more likely to recommend a tertiary degree in fields other than journalism, particularly humanities and social sciences, for those who expected to be competent journalists.

Table 1 reveals the amount of formal schooling journalists had undertaken prior to entering the profession. The data are not too dissimilar to data revealed

TABLE 1: Schooling prior to entering journalism

Highest educational level achieved:	PRESENT AGE OF JOURNALIST 18-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-55	56-64	Total:
Primary	0.0%	4.1%	3.3%	3.9%	4.9%	8.3%	9.4%	0.0%	4.4%
Secondary	61.9	39.7	54.1	75.4	63.4	70.8	71.9	80.0	60.1
Technical school	0.0	1.4	1.6	2.0	4.9	4.2	3.1	0.0	2.2
part tertiary (CAE or Uni)	14.3	15.1	13.1	9.8	12.2	4.2	9.4	6.7	11.7
partial degree in journalism	9.5	12.3	6.6	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0
complete degree in journalism	9.5	13.7	4.9	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0
complete other tertiary degree	4.8	13.7	16.4	7.8	12.2	12.5	3.1	13.3	11.3
									99.7%

in Johnstone's American study; in the US, however, the upsurge in educational levels began earlier, and a much larger percentage of American journalists were graduates.[12]

[12] John Johnstone et al., The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and TheirWork (Urbana: Univesity of Illinois Press,1976).

In response to a question concerning their formal studies undertaken after beginning their journalism careers, more than half the journalists indicated they have continued plugging away at tertiary and post-graduate work. As Table 2 indicates, the "students" are found in all age groupings, and are about

TABLE 2: Schooling subsequent to entering journalism

	PRESENT AGE OF JOURNALIST								
Type of training:	18-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-55	56-64	Total:
Tertiary journalism	4.8%	31.5%	31.1%	15.6%	24.4%	29.2%	25.0%	13.3%	24.5%
Tertiary non-journalism	23.8	38.4	18.0	31.2	26.0	16.6	0.4	26.6	25.8
Post-graduate studies	4.8	2.7	4.7	0.0	7.3	4.2	0.0	0.0	3.1
	33.4	72.6	53.8	46.8	57.7	50.0	34.4	39.9	53.4%

equally divided in their academic pursuits between journalistic and non-journalistic studies. Interestingly, even older journalists--sometimes at the lower or middle-management levels--are poking their noses into the journalism schools to catch up on the latest theories. In some cases, these studies are being undertaken by correspondence.

Degree holders are scattered unevenly among various Australian media. As expected, those working for the government-controlled Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) with its policy of hiring specialists with tertiary degrees, are far more likely than any other category of journalists to possess a sheepskin. However, despite ABC's having 48.1% of its journalists holding degrees, the total broadcast industry has but 23.1% with tertiary qualifications, compared to the overall print journalism's 31.7% total. Also of interest is the fact that 5% of practicing broadcasters are currently enrolled for tertiary studies, which is less than half the 11.3% of print journalists still working toward degrees.

TABLE 3: Percent of journalists with tertiary degrees, by organization

Type of organization:	Percentage of organization's journalists	
	With degrees:	Working toward degrees:
Metropolitan radio	11.1	3.7
Metropolitan television	19.0	5.2
Regional/provincial television	11.1	11.1
Metropolitan ABC (radio & tv)	48.1	3.7
Commercial broadcast sector	16.0	5.3
Total broadcast sector	23.1	5.0
Metropolitan newspaper	30.1	11.9
Regional/provincial newspaper	37.9	8.1
Suburban newspaper	33.4	16.7
Total print sector	31.7	11.3

All 318 of the journalists sampled were asked a series of questions concerning the kinds of advice they would offer young people interested in becoming journalists. As might be expected, there were many who, even though critical of their own type of training, advised youngsters to go through the same trial and error, sink or swim, learn on the job routines. Many were critical of their own cadetships, saying the much ballyhooed schemes lacked formal intellectual content and encouraged pedantry, but nevertheless turned around and suggested that if the cadetship was good enough for them, it must be good enough for today's neophytes. On the other hand, a surprisingly large number of those mid-career journalists who themselves were products of the school of hard knocks, plus a predictable number of those who were pursuing higher degrees at the mid-career stages, encouraged youngsters to get as much formal education as possible before embarking upon a journalism career. By and large, older

journalists' advice to young hopefuls was to capitalize on personal characteristics such as self-confidence, integrity, self-criticism, a wide variety of interests, and the like. This mature group was far more likely to warn newcomers about the pitfalls of the industry than was the younger, cadet-aged group. Young journalists typically advised newcomers to get a foot in the door as a copyboy or cadet, and then to get a degree. But few older journalists suggested going this route, perhaps because they have found the folly of attempting to pursue a new career and heavy academic load simultaneously.

Disparagement of journalism graduates is declining, although there remains a fear that the courses may be too academic and not practical enough. But there is a commonly held belief that the journalism graduate feels superior to his lesser educated cadet peers, that he/she wants to save the world, can't meet deadlines, and is unable to "put it all into three paragraphs under pressure." Those in the profession admire the graduates' confidence and loath their cocksure behavior.

"Other journalists view graduates with skepticism, and animosity," a metropolitan newspaper reporter maintained. "They still say a 'real education' is in here, at the typewriter or VDT, on the street. It's much easier to kick around a 17-year-old than a 22-year-old."

Despite such concerns, the average practicing journalists still want time to study. They are interested in fields as far apart as agriculture and politics. Many confess the need to know more libel law. Quite a few favor a professional sabbatical/study leave policy, which the Australian Journalists Association has attempted to incorporate into the national "award" or labor agreement with management. Time and again, journalists from cadet through senior editor lamented the lack of study time. The number of cadet journalists who attend journalism or other tertiary courses only so long as their management pays for study leave, but drop out once they are graded or once management de-emphasises the degree, remains at such a high level that the AJA executives

have begun to display concern. (As mentioned earlier, the AJA has been accused of encouraging higher educational standards as justification for higher wages and more "professionalism.")

People in management positions, and people who had studied journalism at the tertiary level, were more likely than other respondents to recommend that aspiring journalists undertake a journalism degree. Those who held university degrees in non-journalism subjects were the least likely to recommend journalism coursework. Overall, most respondents recommended that journalists study humanities; the next most common suggestion overall was some variation of the "Get a degree in life!" thesis. Newspaper journalists were more likely than television, radio, or wire service journalists to recommend journalism degrees.

Finally, despite the pattern of higher educated journalists in today's Australian media, and despite the clear pattern of people indicating they felt an increasing need to continue studies and training beyond the cadetship years, and despite the argument that increased complexity of their jobs and sophistication of news coverage would demand an ever-higher educated work force, there was little objective evidence that higher qualifications and higher degrees were positively related to journalists' rate of advancement within the field. Graduates serve abbreviated cadetships in the print media and tend to receive immediate gradings in broadcasting, but once graded, advancement seems to be much more dependent upon on-the-job performance than upon formal education. And that, senior reporters and management seem to agree, is the way it should be.

HYPOTHESIS TWO: It's a male WASP upper-middle-class career

During the preliminary phase of the research project, cadet counsellors and editors were interviewed concerning their hiring practices. One editor, representing one of Australia's prestige metropolitan newspapers, said he

had just been shocked to realise that all of the previous year's cadets had been recruited from private schools in the wealthy suburbs or had earned degrees from top-rated universities. "How," he asked, "can we expect to understand the needs of our total readership when we select our staffers from such limited and protected backgrounds?" The question was particularly pertinent in light of Australian journalism's reputation as a "larrikin's" calling, a career most appealing to the disorderly, rowdy, street-wise Aussie.

Such a concern seemed appropriate, coming from a high quality newspaper, but did not seem likely to be relevant to the majority of newspapers published in tabloid format, selling by the hundreds of thousands to train and tram commuters who seek little intellectual stimulation on the way home from work. Nevertheless, the ultimate questionnaire probed into the 318 journalists' socio-ethnic-economic backgrounds, and with some surprising results.

Parents of the journalists interviewed represented some 77 different occupations ranging from university professors to wharfies. The occupations were narrowed down into smaller groupings according to common characteristics and occupational skills. Journalists and editors were maintained as a separate identity to compare with other sectors of the workforce. The percentages of parents representing each category is as follows:

Journalists and editors	12.0
Upper professionals	24.0
Proprietors/managers	18.9
Office/sales	9.6
Farmers	6.9
Skilled labor	13.4
Unskilled labor	7.1
No answer	8.1

The data indicate that journalists come from the most advantaged sectors of society. Over half of them came from areas normally associated with high income groups. These were the upper professional and managerial classes. The greatest frequency by far was the upper professional category (24%), followed by the proprietor and managerial class (18.9%). The figures become more revealing when compared with the composition of the national workforce; the inequalities become obvious, as seen in Table 4:

TABLE 4: Parents' occupations compared with Australian workforce

Parents' occupations:	Journalists' parents' occupations (%)	National labor force (%) *
Journalists and editors	12.0	0.2
Upper professionals	24.0	12.0
Proprietors & managers	18.9	6.5
Office & sales	9.6	17.2
Farmers	6.9	7.1
Skilled labor	13.4	29.0
Semi- & unskilled labor	7.1	28.0
No answer	8.1	0.0

*The Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1976 Census

Although over half of the journalists surveyed came from upper and middle classes, in the work force this group represents less than 20% of the whole. The inequality of professions in the survey is stressed even further when one compares the representation of skilled and semi- and unskilled workers. In the survey this represents only about one-fifth of the family backgrounds, yet in the national workforce skilled and semi- and unskilled workers comprise 57% of the whole. Overall, journalists' parents are disproprtionately representative of the "real world."

The only occupation that is evenly represented is the farmer category. Of the others, all of the middle and upper-class professions are over-represented and all of the lower-class occupations under-represented. Entry into journalism is thus more accessible or attractive to those from the higher classes and, as of yet, not so much so from the upwardly mobile lower classes. As one 37-year-old Melbourne television journalist said, "We tend to get one dimensional kids from upper-middle classes. We should mix it up."

Questions about occupational succession arise. An underlying characteristic of professional succession, according to Boreham, is that more and more people are attracted from the professional and higher income families and fewer from the lower and less skilled classes. Although writing in general terms about Australian professions, Boreham's words are highly relevant to the present study:

> The backgrounds of those who are able to become professionals have not broadened significantly.. The professional faculties still draw overwhelmingly from males of high status family and educational backgrounds. It is hardly surprising therefore that the professions are dominated by politically and socially conservative males. It does strike us as somewhat surprising, however, that the authority accorded to professional judgement in a wide range of socially important matters is seldom questioned with respect to the backgrounds of those making the judgements. It is not clear whether this reflects a general assumption that social class origins and concomitant political attitudes are irrelevant to professional practice or an assumption that they enable the professional to do a better job by virtue of his elite background. 13

Of the 77 original categories of occupation represented by the parents of the 318 journalists sampled, the highest frequency was that of "journalist" or "editor." This group formed 12% of all the occupations listed, and higher even than some of the collective groupings. When compared with the national labor force, where the percentage of journalists and editors in Australia is

---

13 P. Boreham et al., The Professions in Australia (Brisbane: The University of Queensland Press, 1976).

a mere .2%, the imbalance becomes pronounced. How do we explain a 60:1 imbalance, except to note, as sociologists, that a high degree of intergenerational occupational succession occurs most notably in rural areas and especially where newspapers have been family businesses for as long as five generations? In sum, this high incidence of intergenerational occupational succession, coupled with the propensity of journalism recruits from the upper eschelons of society, results in restricted passage into the profession.

A cross tabulation of parents' occupations and journalists' educational qualifications upon entry into journalism provides an interesting insight into our subjects' backgrounds; see Table 5.

TABLE 5: Parents' occupations and journalists' educational backgrounds

Parents' occupations :	Journalists' level of schooling before entering the profession: (%)								
	Primary School	Secondary school	Technical/trade	Part CAE course	Part University course degree	Part journalism course degree	Complete CAE course degree	Complete university course degree	Complete journalism course degree
Journalists/ editors	0.0	78.9	0.0	0.0	10.5	0.0	0.0	7.9	2.6
Upper profess/l	3.7	45.7	2.5	3.7	16.0	4.9	0.0	18.5	4.9
Proprietor/ managers	1.6	68.9	1.6	1.6	11.5	4.9	0.0	8.2	1.6
Office/ Sales	6.5	51.6	0.0	0.0	6.5	6.5	0.0	19.4	9.7
Farmers/ Agriculture	9.1	63.6	0.0	0.0	4.5	4.5	4.5	9.1	4.5
Skilled labor	2.3	61.4	4.5	0.0	6.8	9.1	0.0	4.5	11.4
Semi- & Unskilled	13.0	69.6	4.3	0.0	4.3	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
No Answer	11.1	50.0	5.6	0.0	11.1	5.6	5.6	5.6	5.6

Perhaps the most outstanding feature shown by Table 5 is that 78.9% of journalists' children went straight from secondary school to work in journalism. This may indicate a preference for cadetships as a vehicle into the profession. Only 21% of those with journalistic parents had received any form of tertiary education, and only 2.6% of them had completed a journalism award; 7.9% completed a full university course. Not surprisingly, of all the parents' occupations, the semi- and unskilled labor children undertook the least amount of tertiary studies. This group was followed by the journalistic parents group, of whom 21% had undertaken some sort of tertiary studies. At the other end of the scale, as expected, more than half the upper professionals' offspring had been exposed to post-secondary studies prior to getting their feet wet in journalism. Members of this latter group were more likely to study journalism at the tertiary level than members of any other groups. Why this is true wasn't pursued in the present study, but a study of Australian elites may be revealing in this regard. Higley and his colleagues noted that decisions on future career choices in Australian professional families is greatly affected by fathers' and families' impressions and advice. "It is assumed that attatchments and experience early in life create values and ideas that persist and that guide subsequent behavior."[14]

For what it's worth, answers to questions on job satisfaction indicated that children of journalists tended to strongly agree that journalism was their main interest in life, that journalism gave them a sense of self-fulfillment, but that journalism did not give them a particularly high social status, despite their feelings of being important to their companies. Compared with others from different backgrounds, journalists' offspring revealed a greater tolerance for the working conditions and a greater sense of pride in the profession.

---

[14]J. Higley et al., Elites in Australia (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1979).

Another attempt was made to determine socio-economic backgrounds by examining the employment history of those who had worked in other activities prior to entering journalism. Respondents were asked what they were doing immediately before their first journalism job; the results are seen in Table 6.

TABLE 6: Journalists' jobs prior to entering the field

Type of work:	%
Nothing	3.1
School student/secondary	38.4
Tertiary student	22.0
Fulltime white collar	18.2
Fulltime blue collar	7.5
Fulltime service work	3.5
Parttime white collar	1.9
Parttime blue collar	.3
Parttime service work	.9
Casual work/anything	4.1

The findings reveal that most journalists were attending secondary schools and tertiary institutions. However, of those who worked, the majority (20.1%) were working fulltime or parttime at white collar positions, almost three times as many as those 7.8% working in blue collar jobs. When the "job before journalism" is crosstabulated with "parents' occupations," results further support the while collar dominance. Of the white collar workers, the majority of 34.9% came from upper professional families. Yet most of the blue collar workers, 28.5% of the total, also came from the upper professional strata. The second highest frequency for white collar and blue collar workers was in the managerial and proprietor family class. With such a high proportion of the white and blue collar workers in the upper and middle classes, the frequencies for blue

collar in this category as a social indicator are reduced in proportion. Of all the parents' occupations, the smallest percentages comprise blue collar work (for activity prior to entering journalism). Apart from the high percentages of journalists working at their secondary and tertiary studies, the next highest category was for white collar work.

Therfore, the figures representing activity prior to entering journalism reveal a pattern similar to that of parents' occupations. This again supports the hypothesis that journalists come from the more advantaged sectors of society; even the types of jobs they held before beginning journalism careers reflects advantages not gained by the typical workforce.

In order to determine the ethnic composition of Australian journalism, respondents were asked to which Australian generation they belonged. If they were not Australilan born or first generation Australian, they were asked to state their ethnic background.

The results show that journalism in Australia is predominantly an Anglo-Saxon profession, typified by personnel whose families have resided in that high-immigration country for several generations; see Table 7.

TABLE 7: Generation of Australian nationality

What generation Australian are you:	%
Not an Australian	13.8
First generation	10.1
Second generation	11.3
Third generation	17.6
Fourth generation	25.5
Fifth generation	11.9
Sixth generation	9.1

While the number of generations an individual's family has resided is no valid indicator of his ethnic heritage, it probably reveals much about his sense of "belongingness" to the national heritage. However, to get a better insight into the extent to which Australian journalism is an Anglo-Saxon profession, those 42.7% of journalists not Australians by birth or not first generation Australians were asked to indicate their ethnic background; see Table 8.

TABLE 8: Ethnic background of Australian journalists, compared to total population/workforce.

Ethnic background:	Journalists %	Workforce[#] %	Total population[*] %
Australian	56.9	79.0	79.9 (Australian born)
Anglo-Saxon	30.8	10.7	8.2
Northern European	3.1	2.5	2.3
Southern European	1.9	4.9	3.8
Slavic	2.5	1.6	.5
New Zealand	2.5	1.5	.6
Asian	1.3	3.1	1.7
American	.3	.9	.2
"None of your damned business"	.7	0.0	0.0

[#] The Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics, August, 1981, Bulletin
[*] The Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1976 Census

Despite the "apples and oranges" tossed into Table 8, it can still be seen that Anglo-Saxons are over-represented in the journalism industry, while ethnic minorities are under-represented. Whereas Slavs and Northern Europeans are found in greater proportions than one would expect by chance, Southern Europeans and Asians are under-represented.

When ethnic background is cross tabulated with the number of generations the journalists' families have resided in Australia, the distinctions become more

apparent. Of the total Southern European journalists, none were born oversea Of all the ethnic groups, excluding Anglo-Saxons, none are from families who have lived in Australia over four generations. Most are either not Australian or are among first or second generation immigrants. Many may have arrived after the second world war, when language and non-recognition of qualification were major barriers to journalism employment. As Sherrington put it:

> Overall the issue of language has been at the heart of opportunities available to migrants. The ability to speak English well has lain behind the recognition of many of the overseas qualilfications and skills that immigrants possess. Thus, one study of immigrants entering Australia in the decade 1963-73 indicated that 60 per cent of overseas qualifications held by those born in English speaking countries were recognized within Australia. In contrast, only 40 per cent of qualifications held by those born in such areas as the Middle East, Greece, and Yugoslavia received recognition. Quite often, registration of trade and professional qualification depends upon the ability to speak fluent English.

This factor would explain the disproportion of Anglo-Saxon journalists, in contrast to Southern Europeans, in the 1981 survey. The fact that most of the ethnic journalists are non-Australian to third generation suggests that once the language barrier has been overcome, ethnicity should no longer be such a liability. Since most of the ethnic journalists are in the 21-25 and 26-30-year-old age groups, we may conclude that although the profession is predominantly Anglo-Saxon, the pattern may change with time.

Most ethnic journalists are employed in metropolitan television. The next highest proportion are employed by the metropolitan newspapers. In general, ethnics do not hold down senior level reporting or editorial positions. Of all the editors interviewed, only 1.6% were non-Anglo-Saxons. There were no ethnics representing the following capacities: cadet counsellor, senior newspaper executive, producer, feature writer, editorial writer, media critic, deputy chief of staff, public affairs or anchorperson-reporter. When they

---

[15] G. Sherrington, Australia's Immigrants (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin 1980).

have broken down the employment barriers, they are most likely to be working as reporters, either in general assignment work, or specialist reporting, or still serving cadetships.

A study of the socio-economic background of the ethnic proportion of the 318 journalists indicated that half had parents who were journalists, lending further credence to the previous observation of intergenerational occupational inheritance. And, as was the case with the overall sample, ethnic journalists' parents also tended to be from the upper professional and proprietor or managerial class, as well as in skilled trades.

Is Australian journalism a man's world?

There were only 77 female journalists interviewed, compared with 241 males. That overall percentage of females, 24%, is only slightly higher than the approximated national ratio guaged from AJA membership figures (the only available source of Australian journalists' names, but one that does not include management personnel and is therefore not our p[illegible]ry source). Only five female management journalists were included in the [illegible]rvey, despite the effort during sampling to interview a fully representative group. Thus the 72 non-management females represent 34% of the staff sample, a somewhat higher percentage than might be expected by chance alone, if one is to believe the AJA figures. However, the Australian Bureau of Statistics' December, 1980 report said women constitute 36.8% of the Australian work force, indicating the present study's figures are close to the overall national work force, even if they are slightly on the high side of the journalism work force statistics.

Some of the findings from male-female cross tabulations are as follows:

Women seem to place more importance on "intrinsic" than on "extrinsic" rewards from work. They seem less worried than men about such extrinsic factors as working hours, job security, and pay, but more concerned about such intrinsic factors as feedback from peers and superiors and audiences, the ability to work alone in their jobs, the excitement of the work, concerns

over professional growth and development, their own sense of importance to the company, etc. Far fewer women than men indicated they had the authority to make important decisions. On the surface, at least, males appeared generally more satisfied with their jobs. Many females responded to the question "What keeps you where you are?" by indicating they were married, or they liked the city they were working in and did not wish to become uprooted. Males, on the other hand, listed extrinsic factors such as job security, money, and flexibility of hours as causes for remaining.

Sixty percent of all the women journalists surveyed, including the management level women, indicated they felt their job provided for promotion opportunities, while only 45% of the males so indicated. However, this "feeling" contrasted strongly with the hard evidence revealed in the study. For instance, there were higher percentages of women in most of the lower graded positions, and higher percentages of men in the higher grades, idnicating women reach a certain level and find it difficult to advance. No matter how long their cadetships, women still tended to fill the lower grades. None of the women surveyed who reached C grade (middle level) at age 21 progressed beyond A grade, while 86% of the males who reached C grade at age 21 were A grade or higher at the time of interviews. The promotional trends are reflected even more strongly in the category of journalists who reached B grade by age 25. The older they get, the longer female journalists tend to have to wait in order to become upgraded, in comparison to male journalists' promotion rates. Thus males seem to have a realistic or at least pessimistic set of expectations about how rapidly they are likely to advance, while females have an unrealistically optimistic set of promotional expectations.

Particularly revealing were differences between males' and females' answers to sets of questions intended to guage individuals' levels of responsibility. Those questions on which there was a 30% or greater difference in male/female

responses include the following:

"Do you have any managerial responsibility supervising editorial staff?" 32.2% more men than women said yes.

"How many editorial employees report to you as supervisor?" 30.2% more men than women indicated that other employees reported to them.

"Do you have any influence on the hiring of journalists?" 28.5% more men than women said yes.

"Do you have any influence on the training of journalists?" 26.7% more men than women said yes.

"How many different places have you worked in journalism?" 72.2% of women had worked in only one or two places, compared to 38.6% of men.

"How old are you?" 80.5% of the women were under age 31, compared with 38.6% of the men. (This statistic may be very significant in understanding some of the other answers which reveal greater male supervisory roles--i.e., it's a young woman's or a slightly older man's career.)

Some 63.3% of the women interviewed had not yet reached B grade, compared with 27.4% of the men. 76.6% of women are not yet A grades, compared to 34% men. 90.0% of women have not reached special-A grade, compared with 55.6% of men. Overall, 79.2% of women were between cadetships and B grade, as compared to only 30.3% of men.

More than half the women interviewed (53.2%) had partly or fully completed tertiary studies, including journalism studies, before getting their first job in journalism, which is almost double the percentage of men (26.7%) who found the route to the newsroom had to pass through the classroom.

One final statistic demonstrating the difference sex makes in Australian journalism: 67.5% of the women were single, as compared to 29.5% of the men.

Despite the gloomy picture painted by the raw statistics concerning female/male inequality in Australian journalism, other evidence gives cause for some rejoicing among women. For one thing, more journalists have earned tertiary degrees in the past five years than in the total number of years reported prior to 1976, and of those, women have done so at far more than twice the rate of men (47.5% of the women currently in journalism have earned degrees since 1976, and 19% of the men have done so). These figures jibe with anecdotal evidence presented by Australian journalism educators, who indicate their classes are increasingly being filled with eager female students. Since historically there is greater job mobility among journalists withhigher educations, it is very likely that in the years to come more of the women with tertiary qualifications will be moving inter-city and inter-media and up through the ranks. Also, since a greater proportion of women than men journalists are currently single, they may have opportunities for such mobility in greater numbers than before. If combining journalism with marriage is a less attractive proposition to women than it is to men, it is likely that more and more career-oriented women will move through the gradings and into management levels than has previously been the case. Of course, this depends largely upon attitudes of present male-dominated management, who to date may have been lucky that eager young female journalists haven't realized their sorry lot.

Overall, as things now stand, our second hypoth sis is strongly supported by both objective and anecdotal evidence: Australian journalism is a male dominated, Anglo-Saxon and increasingly upper-middle class occupation.

HYPOTHESIS THREE: Job satisfaction decreases as formal education increases

There exists a commonly held assumption that higher expectations tend to result in greater frustrations when those expectations are not met. In the case of Australian journalists, many of whom have begun to gain academic

credentials of late, it would appear that assumption could be put to the test by cross tabulating their educational levels with their responses to a series of job satisfaction questions.

Many factors influence a journalist's job satisfaction. According to psychologist Edwin Locke, a job is not an entity, but a complex interrelationship of tasks, roles, responsibilities, interactions and rewards.[16] A journalist's attitude toward his work is dependent not only upon the overt characteristics of the job, but, more importantly, upon his view of and reaction to both intrinsic and extrinsic characteristics. Of the job satisfaction questionnaire items posed, several dealt directly with extrinsic rewards, such as pay, habituation to the job, job security and promotional opportunities, while the bulk dealt with intrinsic rewards, such as variety of tasks, a sense of autonomy, the utilization of initiative and skill. On the questionnaire these items were expressed as declarative statements, and subjects were expected to respond with a number from 1 to 5, the former indicating disagreement with the statement, the latter, agreement.

For our analysis, journalists were put into two groupings: those who had some tertiary education, and those who had not. More finite breakdowns are possible, but at this juncture the basic bi-polar distribution of educational backgrounds was thought to show some possible relationships. It was suspected that employers and the very nature of much of Australia's media restrict the opportunities for many tertiary educated journalists to use their specialized knowledge and analytical skills.

On the whole, as revealed by Table 9, both categories of journalists appeared contented with their work situations. When all questions are re-adjusted so that a negative or dissatisfied attitude is scored as a 1 and a positive or satisfied answer is scored as a 5, the average answer for the aggregate total was a 3.4.

---

[16] Edwin A. Locke, "The Nature and Causes of Job Satisfaction," in M.D. Dunnette,ed., Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1975).

TABLE 9: Job satisfaction among educated and non-educated Australian journalists

Predictor:	Non-tertiary journalists mean (1-5)	Tertiary journalists mean (1-5)	Total sample mean (1-5)
Extrinsic values :			
My job has favorable working hours	2.1	2.1	2.1
My job entails little stress	1.2	1.2	1.2
My job gives me good fringe benefits	2.4	2.6	2.5
I have opportunities for promotion	3.2	3.2	3.2
I have job security	4.1	3.0	3.8
I receive a high income	3.2	2.5	3.0
I receive adequate vacation time	4.0	3.8	4.0
My job offers the chance to direct others	3.5	2.8	3.3
Intrinsic values:			
My job is a challenge	4.5	3.9	4.5
My work is exciting	4.0	3.7	3.9
My job gives me a variety of experiences	4.5	4.5	4.5
My job lets me use my unique skills	4.0	3.9	4.0
My job allows me professional growth	4.1	3.8	3.9
My job calls for a high sense of morality and social responsibility	4.2	3.9	4.2
My job calls for ingenuity & imagination	4.3	4.1	4.3
I feel I am important to the company	3.5	2.7	3.3
I have a sense of achievement in my job	4.2	3.8	4.1
My job gives me self-esteem	3.8	3.4	3.7
My job gives a sense of self-fulfillment	3.9	3.7	3.9
My job gives me high social status	2.7	2.7	2.7
In my job I have the authority to make important decisions	3.6	3.1	3.5
I get adequate feedback about my job performance from my superiors	2.9	2.6	2.8
I get adequate feedback about my job performance from my fellow journalists	3.5	3.1	3.3
I get adequate feedback from the public	2.8	2.9	2.9
Other factors:			
I often consider changing my job	2.4	2.5	2.4
I am over-educated for my job	1.6	1.8	1.7

Table 9 offers a wealth of insights and potential for discussion, but at this point we will look at general rather than specific patterns. Of greatest significance is that in the overwhelming number of answers to job satisfaction questions, journalists with tertiary qualifications tended to display less satisfaction than journalists with secondary or lower qualifications. However, the statistics do not say that tertiary educated journalists are to any extent disillusioned or dissatisfied beyond the norm. Differences are in degree, not direction. It happens that more non-tertiary educated journalists indicate extreme satisfaction with their jobs than do tertiary educated workers.

On questions dealing with general contentedness over utilization of unique skills, allowance of professional growth and development, development of a sense of achievement and accomplishment, self-esteem and self-fulfillment, those who have gone beyond secondary school seem less satisfied than those who haven't. Also of note are those statements to which the educated journalists have far lower mean scores than non-educated journalists:job security, income, the opportunity to direct others, a sense of challenge to the job, a feeling of importance to the company, general achievement, authority to make important decisions, and receiving feedback from superiors and fellow workers. These items in particular tap the types of self-actualization motivations to which one would expect higher educated personnel to be particularly sensitive.

Given that tertiary educated journalists are satisfied with most aspects of their work, and extremely reluctant to change their jobs, but nevertheless not as "contented" as their non-tertiary educated colleagues, who should an employer choose? Should the employer choose a 15-year-old copy boy or girl, who will eventually be elevated to the "starry" heights of a cadetship after learning the ropes? Should the choice be a 17-year-old enthusiastic high school graduate who will work for low pay? Or should the nod go to a college or university graduate?

One rural newspaper editor echoed the sentiments of many when he expressed his doubts about hiring graduates:

> Graduates come here with big expectations, and it's very hard to satisfy their expectations, and get them to knuckle down to mundane tasks a paper this size has to do. They cannot, on small assignments, like exhibitions, or weather, come up with color stories like writing a puff story about a pretty girl on the beach. But those off the street, after 18 months of on-the-job training, will do it.

Of course, the traditional arguments about ever increasing sophistication of the national population should be heard. News is becoming more important in Australians' daily lives as Australia fights its economic and political and social battles, attempts to mine its vast energy resources, and takes its place among free world leaders. Television stations are spending ever increasing budgets on news and current affairs programs. New technology is sweeping through the news industry, and, despite concentration of ownership, competition remains intense across various media attempting to view for news consumers' attention. Governmental policies supporting higher education and specialized degree programs are starting to result in an audience that eventually will express concerted dissatisfaction with puff journalism, with the barrage of pretty-girls-on-the-beach stories any 17 -year-old larrikin can crank out.

Ultimately, albeit slowly, formally educated and professionally motivated journalists will take their place in this matrix.

Meanwhile, there remains a good deal of truth in the concerns penned by the anonymous country editor of a century ago: journalism remains the only self-designated profession entrance into which is denied to none. To date, the great majority of those walking in its paths have still not received a liberal and undoubtedly a special education. And, of those who have received such blessings, there has been no promise of professional satisfaction.

APPENDIX A

JOURNALISM EDUCATION QUESTIONNAIRE - 1981

1-3 (questionnaire data) 1-3 ( ) ( ) ( )

4-5 What is your job?
Editor in any medium (1), chief of staff (2), chief sub-editor (3), cadet counsellor (4), head of department (5), other executive position (6), sub-editor (7), roundsman (8), reporter (9), specialist reporter (10), feature writer (11), cadet (12), other journalist position (13), union official (14).
(write in whether casual or not, which round, what specialty, etc.) 4-5 ( )

6 What is the title of your immediate superior?
Editor (1), chief of staff (2), chief sub-editor (3), head of department (4), none (5). 6 ( )

7 Do you have any managerial responsibility supervising editorial staff? Yes (1), No (2) 7 ( )

8 How many editorial employees report to you as supervisor directly or indirectly?
None (0), one (1), two (2), three (3), four (4), five to ten (5), more than ten (6). 8 ( )

9 Do you have any financial responsibility such as managing a budget? Yes (1), No (2). 9 ( )

10 Do you have any influence on the hiring of journalists? Yes (1), No (2). 10 ( )

11 Do you have any influence on the training of journalists? Yes (1), No (2). 11 ( )

12 In your work can you decide which stories you will work on? Yes (1), No (2). 12 ( )

13 Do you determine which aspects of a story will be emphasised? Yes (1), No (2). 13 ( )

14 Do you decide the amount of time needed to cover a story? Yes (1), No (2). 14 ( )

15 Do you decide the length of the stories you write? Yes (1), No (2). 15 ( )

16 At what age did you decide to work in journalism?
Never (0), at secondary school (1), in college/university (2), at 19 (3), 20 (4), 21-5 (5), over 25 (6). 16 ( )

17 How old were you when you got your first job in journalism?
16 years (1), 17 (2), 18 (3), 19 (4), 20 (5), 21 (6), 22 (7), 28 (8), 24 or over (9). 17 ( )

18 What journalism job was it?
Copy boy (1), cadet (2), graded journalist (3), unclassified helper (4), in a related field somewhere else in the newspaper (5), owned/inherited the newspaper (6), other (write in) (7). 18 ( )

19 What were you doing immediately before your first job in journalism?
Nothing (0), school student (1), tertiary student (2), full-time white collar (3), full-time blue collar (4), full-time service job (5), part-time white collar (6), part-time blue collar (7), part-time service (8), casual anything (9). 19 ( )

20 What other jobs had you held before taking your first job in journalism?
(write in for later coding) 20 ( )

21 What other jobs have you held since taking up your first job in journalism?
(write in for coding later) 21 ( )

22 How many different places have you worked in journalism?
One (1), two (2), three (3), four (4), five (5), six (6), seven (7), eight to ten (8), more than ten (9). 22 ( )

23-32 Which media have you worked in?
Answer Yes (1), or No (2) to each of the following.

Newspaper 23 ( )
Radio 24 ( )
Television 25 ( )
Magazines 26 ( )

Agency (AAP, AUP, Reuter etc).	27	( )
Public service (press secy/officer etc)	28	( )
Public relations	29	( )
Advertising	30	( )
Other types of journalism	31	( )
Experience outside Australia	32	( )

33 For how long were you a cadet?
Never (0), less than six months (1), 6-12 months (2), 12-18 months (3), 18-24 months (4), 2-3 years (5), 3-4 years (6). 33 ( )

34-35 How old are you now? 34-35 ( )

36-37 At what age did you become a graded journalist? 36-37 ( )

38-39 At what age do you expect to become a graded journalist?
Not applicable (00), no answer (01), never (02), can't say (03), otherwise enter age given. 38-39 ( )

40-41 At what age did you become a C-grade journalist (or equivalent)? 40-41 ( )

42-43 At what age do you expect to become a C-grade journalist? (code as for 38-39) 42-43 ( )

44-45 At what age did you become a B-grade journalist? 44-45 ( )

46-47 At what age do you expect to become a B-grade journalist? (code as for 38-39) 46-47 ( )

48-49 At what age did you become an A-grade journalist? 48-49 ( )

50-51 At what age do you expect to become an Agrade journalist? (Code as for 38-39) 50-51 ( )

52-53 At what age did you become a Special A-grade journalist? 52-53 ( )

54-55 At what age do you expect to become a Special A-grade journalist? (Code as 38-39) 54-55 ( )

56-57 At what age did you become ungraded? 56-57 ( )

58-59 At what age do you expect to become ungraded? (Code as 38-39) 58-59 ( )

60 Why did you become ungraded?
I am not ungraded (0), promoted to editor (1), promoted to chief sub-editor (2), promoted to an administrative position (3), left daily journalism (4). 60 ( )

61 What specific job do you plan to have five years from now?
(write in for coding) 61 ( )

62-63 At what age do you plan to retire? (write in the age given) 62-63 ( )

64 How much school had you completed before you took your first job in journalism?
Primary school (1), secondary (2), technical or DFE (3), part CAE course (4), part uni. course (5), part journalism course (6), completed CAE award (7), completed uni.award (8), completed journalism award (9). 64 ( )

65 (complete as above for second degree or other study as well as a degree; if not applicable (0) 65 ( )

66-67 What schooling or studies have you undertaken since you began work as a journalist?
(write in for later coding) 66-67 ( )

68-69 Where did you do (or are you doing) your tertiary studies?
(write in name of institution/s) 68-69 ( )

70-71 When did you, or will you, complete your degree?
(enter last two digits of year; if two degrees enter higher/later; if no degree (00)). 70-71 ( )

72-73 What were your major fields of study?
(write in for later coding) 72-73 ( )

74-75 What general advice would you give a young person interested in entering journalism?
(write in for later coding) 74-75 ( )

76-77 Is there anything in particular you believe they should study to enter journalism?
(write in for later coding) 76-77 ( )

Now a few quick questions about your organization's understanding of journalism education; i.e. not necessarily what you think, but what you think your organization or its management feels. You should be able to answer each with a TRUE (1), FALSE (2), or CAN'T SAY (3).

78	**We don't know that journalism schools exist.**	**78 ( )**
79	**We've heard of journalism schools but haven't had any dealings with them.**	**79 ( )**
80	**We've had one or more journalism graduates apply for jobs here.**	**80 ( )**
Leave three spaces here for questionnaire data		1 ( )
		2 ( )
		3 ( )
4	**We've hired one or more journalism graduates.**	**4 ( )**
5	If they say "yes" to 4 ask **How many?** and write in the given number	**5 ( )**
6	**We've not been impressed with journalism graduates once they started work.**	**6 ( )**
7	**Journalism graduates haven't been much different from the general pool of cadets.**	**7 ( )**
8	**Journalism graduates have worked out better in the long run than high school cadets.**	**8 ( )**
9	**We would rather hire a university arts graduate than a journalism graduate.**	**9 ( )**
10	**Journalism graduates seem to have learned basic journalism skills.**	**10 ( )**
11	**Journalism graduates have been exposed to too much theory and not enough practical aspects of journalism.**	**11 ( )**
12	**It's only a matter of time before all beginning journalists will have to be graduates.**	**12 ( )**
13	**It's only a matter of time before we recruit most of our beginning journalists from journalism schools.**	**13 ( )**

Then ask, and note below though not against any particular number, whether they know any journalism graduates, how many, how good they are (in their opinion), do they differ in their attitudes or abilities from non-journalism graduates, and do they seem to be getting on better?

Then a few questions about the respondent's own cadetship, if he/she went through one (see question 33).

14 In retrospect, did your cadetship give you the training you needed? Yes (1), No (2) **14 ( )**

15-16 What was lacking in your cadet training?
(write in for later coding) 15-16 ( )

17-18 What was undesirable or unnecessary in your cadet training?
(write in for later coding) 17-18 ( )

19-20 In your own case, what additional training, study or refresher courses would you find helpful to improve your efficiency in your present job, or to assist towards your promotion?
(write in for later coding) 19-20 ( )

21-22 Which, if any, specific tertiary institution would you recommend for a person wanting to enter a career in journalism?
(write in for later coding) 21-22 ( )

23-24 Which college or university journalism courses are you familiar with?
(write in for later coding) 23-24 ( )

Now I'd like to ask briefly about your own work. I have a list of statements about work in journalism and would like your reaction to them, on a 5-point scale. If you disagree strongly give it 1. If you agree strongly give it 5. Two, 3 and 4 represent opinions in between.

25	**My job is challenging.**	25 ( )
26	**I am able to work alone in my job.**	26 ( )
27	**My work is exciting.**	27 ( )
28	**My job gives me a variety of experiences.**	28 ( )
29	**My job lets me use my own unique skills.**	29 ( )
30	**My job allows me professional growth and development.**	30 ( )
31	**My job demands that I continually meet new people.**	31 ( )
32	**My job gives me the chance to direct others.**	32 ( )
33	**My job calls for a high sense of morality and socialresponsibility.**	33 ( )
34	**My job calls for ingenuity and imaginativeness.**	34 ( )
35	**I spend a lot of time in the office.**	35 ( )
36	**My job has unfavourable working hours.**	36 ( )
37	**My job entails a lot of stress.**	37 ( )
38	**My job entails a lot of travelling.**	38 ( )
39	**In my job I have a feeling I am important to the company.**	39 ( )
40	**I have a sense of achievement and accomplishment in my job.**	40 ( )
41	**Journalism is my main interest in life.**	41 ( )
42	**My job gives me self-esteem.**	42 ( )
43	**My job gives me a sense of self-fulfilment.**	43 ( )
44	**I am over-educated for my job.**	44 ( )
45	**My job gives me good fringe benefits.**	45 ( )
46	**I have opportunities for promotion.**	46 ( )
47	**I have job security.**	47 ( )
48	**My job gives me high social status.**	48 ( )
49	**In my job I have the authority to make important decisions.**	49 ( )
50	**In my work I am generally independent of supervision.**	50 ( )
51	**I receive a high income.**	51 ( )
52	**I receive adequate vacation time.**	52 ( )
53	**I get adequate feedback about my job performance from my superiors.**	53 ( )
54	**I get adequate feedback from my fellow journalists.**	54 ( )
55	**I get adequate feedback from the public.**	55 ( )
56	**I often consider changing my job.**	56 ( )
	If the answer to 56 is anything but (1) ask	
57	**Have you ever done anything about it?**	
	(write in for future coding what he has done)	57 ( )
	(If they say they have applied for other jobs ask what jobs in what fields)	
58	**What keeps you where you are?**	
	(write in for later coding)	58 ( )

59-60 If there is one thing about your job you could change, what would it be?
(write in for later coding) **59-60 ( )**

And just for the record:

61 **Sex** Female (1), Male (2) **61 ( )**

62 **Marital status** Single (1), married (2), divorced or separated (3), widowed (4). **62 ( )**

63 **Father's occupation.**
(Write in for later coding) **63 ( )**

64 **What generation Australian are you?**
Not an Australian (0), first generation (1), second (2), third (3), fourth (4), fifth (5), sixth (6). **64 ( )**

If the answer to 64 is (0) or (1) ask

65 **What is your ethnic background?**
(write in for later coding) **65 ( )**

NEWS MEDIUM.....

CITY.....